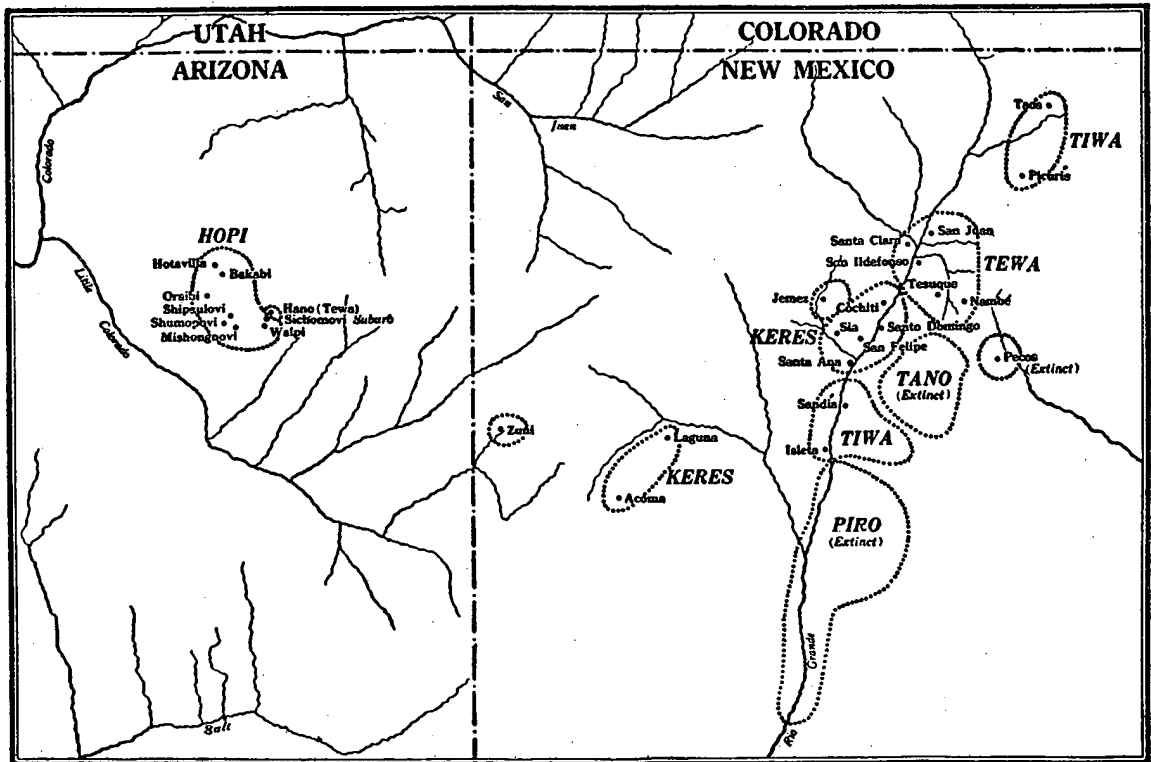


# MAP OF THE PUEBLO REGION



(After Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*)

## Social Organization of the Western Pueblos

By  
FRED EGGAN



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO AND LONDON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO Press, CHICAGO & LONDON  
The University of Toronto Press, Toronto 5, Canada

*Copyright 1950 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. Published 1950. Fourth Impression 1967  
Printed in the United States of America*

To R.-B.

in the village is perhaps fear of the Kwan society. This group, which is particularly associated with the dead, was in former times the chief protection of the village. The Kwan chief installs the village chief, and the latter may be deposed by the Kwan society for good cause.<sup>15</sup> Their role in the initiation rites gives them a further measure of control over behavior.

The only chief with "police" functions was the War Chief, but he does not have the same authority that his counterparts at Zuni and other Pueblos possess. At Oraibi in recent times the War Chief was a Soyal officer, but in earlier days he was head of the War society and a member of the Coyote-Masau'u-Kokop clan group.<sup>16</sup> He had the duty of maintaining order and discipline, but he had no punitive powers other than those connected with his war leadership. The War Chief at Shongopovi belongs to the Sun-Reed clan group, and the Wapi War Chief to the related Reed clan; according to Curtis,<sup>17</sup> the latter had the duty of maintaining peace and harmony within the village, which he did by lecturing the population on the evils of adultery and other practices. With the loss of the sanctions incident to war, no additional secular sanctions have been developed to deal with witches and trouble-makers, though the former are believed to be punished in the afterworld by the Kwans who push them into underground corn-baking ovens from which they emerge as beetles.

Within the clan normally the oldest male member takes charge of the ritual duties of the clan, and the oldest female member (of the main lineage) is in charge of the clan household. Difficulties within the clan are usually adjusted by conferences, but disputes between clans over ceremonial rights or land may continue for a considerable period without solution. Violence is rare among the Hopi, so that blood feuds do not occur. According to Colton, if murder should occur, it would be the duty of the family of the murdered man to kill the murderer,<sup>18</sup> but actual instances of murder are very few in modern times.

Co-operation between independent villages is almost non-existent, and the efforts of the government to develop a Hopi council to deal with matters affecting the reservation as a whole have had little success. Villages such as New Oraibi are experi-

menting with local elected officials, but they have great difficulty in enforcing their decisions where public opinion is divided. Tliev's summary of the situation is worth quoting:

Within each village the lack of a strong central authority permits the growth of factions and leads to schisms; and between pueblo and pueblo there is an attitude of jealousy, suspicion, and subdued hostility. Never has any town been entirely free from strife, and never has a leader arisen to mould the autonomous villages into a co-ordinated unit worthy of being a tribe. Whatever other talents they may possess, the Hopi do not have the gift of statecraft.<sup>19</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

In the above sections we have outlined the major aspects of Hopi social organization and indicated some preliminary conclusions with reference to the subsystems. It is now possible to examine the relations between these subsystems in more detail, to outline the basic aspects of Hopi social structure, and to indicate the nature of their social integration. We can gain further insight into Hopi social organization by seeing it in historical perspective, through a reconstruction of Hopi history as seen in archeology and the documentary records and by also seeing it in comparative perspective through an examination of the social structures of the various western Pueblos.

We have seen that the Hopi kinship system might be considered as an instrument for organizing and regulating social behavior in a number of culturally defined contexts. The kinship structure is based upon a "vertical" grouping of relatives in terms of the matrilineal lineage and household; this pattern is extended on a simplified basis to clan, phratry, and ceremonial relatives, and later to the relatives of one's spouse.

The relations of the lineage to the clan—and of both to the household—have been outlined above. The lineage, unnamed as it is, is of primary importance to the Hopi because it contains the *mechanism* for transmitting rights, duties, land, houses, and ceremonial knowledge, and thus it is vital with respect to status. In Hopi thinking the lineage and clan are usually considered together, but in extreme cases they may place two lineages of the same clan at almost opposite poles.<sup>100</sup>

The clan is the outstanding unit of social organization; in Hopi conception it is "timeless" and permanent, extending back to the period before the emergence and forward to include as yet unborn children. Deceased clansmen continue their clan affiliations and interest in the living group, and, conversely, the latter concentrate much of their ritual activities on the maintenance of proper relations with the dead. The Hopi have utilized the clan as a primitive "corporation," holding land, houses, and ceremonial knowledge and property "in trust" for future generations. Radcliffe-Brown, from whom I borrow this term, has pointed out the need for stability and continuity in the social structure and has indicated the necessity—where corporations are based on kinship—of adopting a system of unilineal reckoning of succession to achieve that purpose.<sup>16</sup>

The clan performs these functions relatively well but is subject to population fluctuations in both directions, independent of the total village population. Thus a clan may be reduced to a simple lineage (or further) or expand to include several lineages. The number of lineages per clan is always variable, but the custom of one "clanhouse" and a single name suggests that early Hopi social organization approximated to single-lineage clans.<sup>16</sup> Multiple lineages can split off as long as the socioceremonial system is expanding, but, once the pattern crystallizes, they tend to remain as subordinate groups. Here they increase stability, in that they provide some insurance against clan extinction, but they complicate clan unity through competition for land and ceremonial status.

At the next level of organization the phratry provides a similar structural situation, though its functions and origins may be somewhat different. We have noted that the phratry has no name but that kinship and exogamy are extended to the "partner" clans. The phratry group is not an economic or ceremonial unit, but it does serve as an insurance mechanism against clan extinction, since partner clans may take over the ceremonial obligations. Within the phratry group there are often sharp status differences and competition for land and prestige, as Titev has indicated for Oraibi.<sup>16</sup>

The village organization among the Hopi represents a still higher level. Each major village is relatively independent and self-contained: an economic, ceremonial, and political unit. Within the village we find a complex integration; while each has a similar pattern of social structure, the particular relations between clan, society, and ceremony may vary considerably from village to village. Certain villages are colony or satellite villages which are still ceremonially dependent; others have achieved independence in pre-Spanish times—or in the twentieth century. For the Hopi tribe as a whole there is no central organization; rather each major village is a potential rival, and village "sovereignty" is jealously guarded. What tribal unity there is depends upon the extensions of the socioceremonial system and the common understandings of the culture.

#### STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES

It is now possible to consider further the nature of the Hopi kinship system. We have suggested that the kinship system is the most important element in Hopi social structure and have indicated the manifold ways in which the social recognition of kinship permeates social relations of all kinds. We can gain further insight into the kinship system and its relations to other aspects of the social structure by defining the structural principles on which it is based.<sup>16</sup> We have noted that the Hopi system is "classificatory" in that lineal relatives are grouped with collateral relatives and that kinship covers a wide range. Radcliffe-Brown has recently pointed out that in such systems "the distinction between lineal and collateral relatives is clearly recognized and is of great importance to social life, but it is in certain respects subordinated to another structural principle, which can be spoken of as the principle of the solidarity of the sibling group."<sup>16</sup> The importance of the bond between siblings is fundamental in Hopi social structure; it finds expression in the equation of the father with the father's brother and the mother with the mother's sister, in the household and lineage activities, and in the clan-phratry system. It does not find expression in such institutions as the sororate and the levirate or in sororal polygyny or fraternal